

HOW THE JANATA IS 'RESTORING' DEMOCRACY AND WHAT THEIR 'FRIENDS' ARE SAYING

The ruling Janata Party has repealed the MISA, withdrawn the Code of Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill, which was essentially the same as MISA and introduced the 45th Constitution Amendment Bill which still contains some of the provisions of the 42nd Amendment Act. Apparently democracy has been restored and all curbs on individual liberty and freedom lifted. The ruling Janata Party has got a big certificate from their 'Marxist' friends for this. Mr. Namboodiripad characterised the infight in the Janata Party as a struggle between progressive and reactionary forces in the same way as the CPI characterised the Congress. So, according to Mr. Namboodiripad, the withdrawal of Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill represented a victory of progressive forces within the Janata Party. Some time ago Mr. Promode Dasgupta told that the Congress did bad things and Janata Party also does bad things, but the difference between them lies in the fact that Janata Party respects public opinion as shown by withdrawal of the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill. With the introduction of the 45th Constitution Amendment Bill, (we demanded total scrapping of the

42nd Amendment Act) it seems that not only have the fundamental rights guaranteed in the Constitution not been reintroduced but safeguards for future encroachment have been built in and therefore true democracy has been restored! However, we shall not deal here with the provisions in the 45th Amendment. But there is a saying that Constitution is not what it says but what it does. And we must not miss two points in this connection. First, the provision for preventive detention which is in the Constitution (in chapter on fundamental rights!) has not been wiped out and may very well be used as and when necessary. Secondly, the Indian Penal Code which is the legacy of the British imperialist rule in our country and is a deadly weapon in the hands of the rulers has not been changed to make it in tune with democratic norms and principles. So the Janata Party has not moved an inch from the previous Congress rule so far as the basic policy is concerned, the change is only in tactics. Even then when the Janata Party is making these so-called constitutional 'safeguards', what is happening in the country? What taste of democracy

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PROPOSED INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS BILL

A Severe Blow to Trade Union Movement

Coercive method like blanket ban on mass movements and struggles through the Emergency, as also the so-called persuasive method to impose dictated 'peace' on the workers through talks, consultations, so-called consensus and subsequent legislations are but the two faces of crisis-ridden capitalism. The bourgeoisie resort to either of these tactics to meet a particular situation. But the latter is more dangerous because it comes in an air of apparent cordiality with open or tacit backing of the social-democratic leaderships of big trade unions however much they speak in two voices to deceive the workers and cover up their crime. The proposed Industrial Relations Bill of the Janata Government is just that attempt to give formal and institutional shape of a situation of so-called 'peace' and 'discipline' fostered and diligently cultivated by the governments both at the centre and in the states, the contribution to which of CPI(M) and its 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal is no less than the branded bourgeois parties and their governments. It is now left to the workers and employees to show their consciousness, unity and struggling spirit to ward off the attack, now being brought down on them by the proposed bill.

A Comprehensive Bill (Standing Orders) Act has been drafted by the Janata Government and is now at the cabinet level for approval before it can be the Industrial Employment

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Comrade Pritish Chanda Genl. Secretary, U T U C (Lenin Sarani) Protests Against Boothalingam's Recommendation

Delhi May 23 :

"The Bhoothalingam Committee Report as it appears in the press, as was apprehended, is not only unobjective but very reactionary".

"In its futile exercise, it has tried to maintain status quo on the question of wage. Its anti-labour bias is vividly expressed in its recommendation for a national minimum wage of Rs. 4/- a day or Rs. 100/- a month for the present. The Trade Unions long back demanded Rs. 300/- as national minimum even on 1966 price line which should have been by far more on current price line. But the Bhoothalingam

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SUCI's NOTE ON PANCHAYATI RAJ

[On behalf of West Bengal State Committee of our Party Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta, Secretary and Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee, a member of the Secretariat placed this note to the Ashoka Mehta Committee on Panchayati Raj on 16th May, when it came to Calcutta. —Ed. Board, P. Era]

The object of Panchayati Raj Institutions, as suggested by the Government of India, is to ensure an all round development of rural economy so as to increase agricultural production, create employment, eradicate poverty, introduce decentralisation, both in planning and implementation, vesting more power to these institutions with special emphasis to safeguard the interests of the weaker sections of the society. A close look into the country's present politico-socio-economic situation is necessary before going into the concrete measures to suggest what actually can be achieved by these institutions under the existing

conditions. With this is also linked the most pertinent question as to why all attempts hitherto made could not bring to fruition anything near Panchayati Raj in our country in so far as the question of establishing the right of and enjoying the power by the people in the matter of all round development of rural life is concerned.

Who can deny that ours is a capitalist country where the motive force of production is to earn maximum profit by the capitalists and where capitalism has already given birth to not only monopoly but also finance capital? Who can ignore the fact that monopoly capitalism inevitably leads to concentration of power both economic and political? Can anybody remain oblivious about the acute crisis through which Indian capitalism is passing at present bringing in its wake spate of lock-outs, lay-off, closure of industries, retrenchment, rece-

ssion and all that? Who does not know that there is unprecedented unemployment particularly in the villages where most of the agricultural labourers do not get work more than three months a year and who groan under the grinding machine of capitalism and suffer from appalling poverty being forced to live below the poverty line? With all these conditions remaining intact, one can question not the desirability but the

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While the so-called 'Law and Order' is coming down heavily on the people through Bullets and Lathis the Bourgeois and Petty Bourgeois hypocrites claim

Restoration of Democracy

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are the people getting in our country? In reality they are getting the taste of bullets and lathis. The brutalities of police have no bounds and the recent incidents in Bihar, UP, Andhra, Madhya Pradesh and Tamil Nadu besides other places have come as a rude shock to the people. On March 31, in Patna, Police resorted to worst sort of savage attacks on the people when the latter took out a procession and wanted to submit a memorandum to the Governor. As a result of that brutal attack more than 100 people were severely injured according to the admission of Mr. Ramjatan Sinha, an MLA of the ruling Janata Party. In Hyderabad where a woman was molested and her husband lost his life because of police barbarities at a Police station caused widespread people's indignation and protest. This was met by Congress (I) led Andhra Government with indiscriminate police firing taking a heavy toll of people's lives. Not only this, there was even a display of military might. In Panthnagar about 150 workers were killed by police firing during a trade union movement. The AIDMK Government in Tamil Nadu did not lag behind others when on three successive days it ordered firing on the farmers who were demanding some small relief. Here also there was the display of military might as the army was stationed on the streets as a stand by arrangement. According to the reporting of the Statesman, seven people died after sustaining bullet injuries. In Bailadella, Madhya Pradesh, the police brutalities must shock the conscience of the country. The iron ore mining workers, about 1600 of whom were served with retrenchment notice, went on agitation and were fired upon, resulting in the death of 26 accor-

ding to Government's admission. But that was not all, CRP hordes were set on their barracks. About 600 hutments were set on fire, women molested, babies thrown into fire. All these barbarities were perpetrated at the order of the Janata Government which is crying itself hoarse over restoration of democracy. Not far back, workers were fired upon within the factory compound after closing all doors for exit, in Swadeshi cotton Mill in Kanpur, UP when they committed the only 'crime' (!) of demanding back wages for their work which remained unpaid for months together. Mention may be made of the brutal lathi charge on the medical students within the Calcutta University campus when they were peacefully squatting for some redress against corrupt examination system or of the Santaldih incident where workers were terrorised by being surrounded within the power station by massive police and CRP forces whereupon the Chief Minister of the 'Left Front' Government and the Polit Bureau member of CPI (M) claimed success by boasting that "toughness pays"!

So, whatever may be the tall claim of the Janata Party about restoration of democratic rights and liberties, in reality ever since they came to power at the Centre and in some of the states, they are not only trampling those underfoot and suppressing all legitimate democratic movements but have let loose a veritable reign of terror in alliance with the parties now in different state governments. This display of undiluted brutality against minimum democratic rights and movements of the people is bringing revulsions in people's mind and sensing this danger even a bourgeois daily like the Statesman had also to

utter the note of caution in its editorial of April 5, that: "It must however be admitted that police excesses whether in Bihar, West Bengal or Kerala seen to have become a part of the fabric of Indian life".

In their basic approach and attitude towards democratic mass movement there is hardly any difference between the Janata Government and the previous Congress Government notwithstanding the certificate which CPI (M) has given about a so-called 'qualitative change' having taken place as regards peoples' democratic rights and liberties. After all these 'performances' in the restoration of democratic rights and liberties it is quite obvious to the toiling people from their concrete experiences that although MISA has been repealed, the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill withdrawn and 45th Amendment introduced there is hardly any cause for jubilation. The Janata Party has not made any categorical statement that preventive detention will go as a matter of policy and that coercive methods will not be applied against the legitimate democratic movements of the people. Rather the Central ministers would have the people believe that 'Preventive Detention is not MISA' and they are harping on this tune. And as we have shown this provision is still in the Constitution. What is more significant and ominous too is that the Home Minister Mr. Charan Singh has made a veiled threat by thinking aloud that if people's protest takes the form of organised movement then the use of extraordinary power may become a certainty to maintain 'law and order'! Moreover, while the Central Government has repealed MISA and withdrawn the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill, as many as five states—Andhra

Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh are reported to have retained preventive detention on the statute books. Bihar Government has also brought an enactment with the ostensible plea of containing the 'goondas'. The West Bengal Government also expressed many a time its intention of bringing the so-called 'Anti-goonda' Act.

Besides the power retained by the Central Government of promulgating internal emergency in selected areas ostensibly to contain armed revolt or rebellion which certainly the police and Intelligence will determine, there are already black enactments like the Armed Forces (Special powers) Act 1958 which vests the Government and more specifically the armed forces with unbridled powers. As per the relevant provisions of this enactment, it is enough for a governor of the state or the administration of the Union territory, or for good measure the Central Government to declare any area 'disturbed'. This automatically gives the army virtual *carte-blanche* to shoot to kill, to conduct searches without warrant, arrest anybody without any warrant. Such are the laws even now at the hands of the Central and state Governments which are scrupulously kept out of the view of people.

Far from restoring democratic right and liberties or from respecting people's opinion, the ruling Janata Party has only brought about a shift in tactics: instead of bringing a central legislation it is making a devolution of responsibilities in the matter of maintaining law and order. To those States who are so desirous of more autonomy, the Union Home Minister, Mr. Charan Singh has given the green signal at least in the field of law and order to let them do the job of suppre-

ssing people's movement. We may ask why the Janata Party has waited so long to come to this decision. The fact is that they are trying hard to bring more cohesion into their party organisation which remains loose, especially at a time when Indira Gandhi has again emerged as a force in the bourgeois politics. This brings a political compulsion for the Janata Party to build up a radical image for it, in as much as it is faced with strong competition in bourgeois parliamentary politics. Long ago our Party uttered the note of warning that in this era of moribund capitalism in the midst of third general crisis of world capitalist economy and particularly in the perspective of Indian capitalist economy the bourgeoisie seeks to curtail the democratic rights of the people in order to save the crisis-ridden capitalist system and so it can hardly restore the fundamental rights and liberty inspite of all tall claims but takes only those measures and steps that help to keep up the facade of democracy by maintaining the two party parliamentary system. That the Party which is serving the aggregate class interest of the bourgeoisie is moving exactly in such a manner and with such an intention is not very difficult to understand. But what is the attitude of the Government in West Bengal led by the CPI(M) who poses as a 'Marxist' Party? On March 23rd, the Union Home Minister announced in the Parliament the withdrawal of Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Bill. Just a few days before that announcement the CPI(M) declared that it would launch a movement including strike actions if the Bill was not withdrawn. When did CPI(M) leadership become aware of the bill? Why did they remain silent for so long? More over is it not a fact that MP's of this Party

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feasibility of making Panchayati Raj effective in truest sense of the term.

Anybody with even a very little knowledge and experience of rural life cannot deny the fact that a notorious but powerful chain of police-jotedar-administration with the backing of the party in power operates in the countryside which stands as the stumbling block to all sorts of rural development and progress. History is replete with instances of such notorious chains frustrating all measures for improving the living conditions of the poor peasants, agricultural labourers, share-croppers in the villages who actually constitute the weaker sections of the society. The inhuman treatment meted out to this section of people by the money-lenders taking advantage of their miseries and helplessness is not also unknown to anyone. It is unfortunate that the recent political changes have not been able to bring about any improvement in the situation. It is, therefore, clear that to make Panchayati Institutions meaningful, even within the framework of serious limitations, the first and foremost condition should be to break this notorious chain by mobilising powerful public opinion and strengthening the legitimate democratic mass movements against this menacing force. Governments at the Centre and in the states must come forward to curb the police and must ensure that police shall not interfere in legitimate democratic mass movements.

Village people must thus be made free from the stranglehold and suffocation that they suffer at the hands of the anti-people police and vested interests.

The question of recovery of 'benam' land and cultivable waste and distribution of the same along with vested land into the hands of the poor peasants, agricultural labourers and share-croppers is a very important point at the present stage of democratic mass movements.

Without breaking the notorious chain of Police-Jotedar-Administration the talk of Giving minimum relief to the rural People is a myth

Panchayat institutions can play a very important role by wholeheartedly supporting the peasants' struggles organised by the peasants' organisation for the recovery of 'benam' land from the clutches of the jotedars who flagrantly violate relevant laws of the land and act as the curse of the society, and for the distribution of the same to the poor in a condition where police is not allowed to interfere in such legitimate democratic mass movements.

These measures, if scrupulously implemented, can surely bring about some relief to the people but can, on no account, be considered as permanent solution. With growing human families the rural poor can no longer depend on land alone for their subsistence since land is not expandable and there is a limit to its productivity. If decentralisation means to arrest the growing rural population in small patches of land then under the fanfare of so-called "democratic decentralisation" what will remain masked is the half-clad, half-fed and subhuman condition of living of the rural proletariat and semi-proletarian strata of the society. Similarly if decentralisation means laying of emphasis on cottage industries or opening of ancillary industries to feed the heavy industries then it will serve exactly what the monopolists are after to-day. Is it not a device to exploit cheap labour power which is abundantly available in our country although under the cover of solving the problem of unemployment? Is it not aimed at frustrating organised trade union movements which are bound to be associated with large scale industries? These measures can at best serve as palliatives but not as panacea of these pressing problems. Because cottage industries can hardly

survive to-day under the impact of monopoly nor can the ancillary industries sustain unless they are tied up with the big or heavy industries. How can one expect boom in economy in a situation where the purchasing capacity of the people has been squeezed miserably surpassing all previous records? In absence of radical land reforms and due to dependence of the vast majority of the people still on land it is quite natural for Indian capitalist economy to be staggering and sluggish.

When Panchayati Raj Institutions, as envisaged by the government, demand fighting back age-long backwardness in the agrarian economy none of the suggestions proposed from time to time by the Government has anything to materialise this objective. In fact, the only answer to this problem is the modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture and uninterrupted industrial development which can not only augment production but also absorb the unemployed. But is it at all possible at the critical condition of the capitalist economic set-up of our country? That is a real and a very big question.

Be that as it may, there is much to be done by the Panchayats but none should harbour any illusion that they can offer real power to the people in the existing condition. Even within the limitations the Panchayat as an institution can come to some benefit to the people provided there is an integrated approach in respect of the following:

- i) To provide for maximum fund and resources and to delegate power to the Panchayats;
- ii) To maintain a pro-people attitude;
- iii) To guarantee democratic and autonomous

functioning of these institutions.

We are of strong opinion that the Government must bear the entire financial responsibility and provide for necessary funds to the Panchayats by mopping up all available resources from the rich and the affluent. The idea of Panchayats imposing taxes on the rural masses must be abandoned as it will simply add to their miseries defeating the very purpose of the Panchayats. But sharing the financial responsibility by the Government should not be viewed as a prerogative to curb or curtail the democratic rights and aspirations of the Panchayats nor shall the Government be entitled to supersede these institutions at its sweet will. This outlook should, in the main, govern the relation between the Panchayats and the Government.

The Panchayat Institutions as democratically elected bodies and being entrusted with the responsibility of looking after all round rural development can be expected to discharge that responsibility only when they enjoy autonomy, freedom, right and necessary power at their command. In the event of abuse of power by the Panchayats or their turning out and out corrupt, it is the democratic mass movements that should be relied upon and not the administrative apparatus of the state.

We strongly feel that the Panchayati Institutions should always move in close co-operation with the peasants' organisations having a glorious tradition and struggling role against the rural vested interests and upholding democratic rights and norms, values and ethics. Peoples' Committees should be formed to act as the Watchdogs for these Panchayats. Without conscious and organised

participation of the people and fighting the opportunist trend of economism which in the existing set up is bound to be associated with the Panchayats enjoying financial power no plan for rural upliftment can ever be fruitful. Apart from looking after upliftment of the villages, the Panchayats should be given the power to stop illegal eviction of share-croppers from land and establish their legal right. They should also see that the farmers get legitimate price of their produce and are not cheated by the village hawks taking advantage of their distress. Panchayats should seriously endeavour to give relief to the rural unemployed giving priority to the maximum needy in the form of unemployment doles for which necessary fund must be provided by the Government. The concept of Nyaya Panchayats conferring justice to the people can be implemented, if at all, only on the strong foundation of democratic mass movement and political consciousness of the people.

There should be an all-Party Committee to guide, supervise and conduct the Panchayat election at the State-level which is now done by the Government. The present system of nomination should go once for all as it is violative of the principles of democracy. In case requisite numbers of female, schedule caste or schedule tribe candidates are not normally elected in any tier, the gap should be filled up by those candidates who contested in the election and were defeated but were able to secure highest percentage of votes in their respective categories. The electors should have the right to recall the elected representatives if they go against peoples' interest. The Panchayat Institutions and not the Government should enjoy the right to appoint the officers and staff of the Panchayats. The officers and staff of the Panchayats must act as per the decisions of the Panchayats. To ensure wider participation by the poor people in the Panchayats the system

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did not raise serious protest when it was known that the government was bringing that amendment bill but were showing their anxiety as to what would happen to the MISA detainees who were involved in economic offences like smuggling etc? Will it be wrong for us to presume that the CPI(M) only did come forward with their protest when they became certain that the Bill was going to be withdrawn? Is not their protest therefore nothing but a gimmick to deceive the masses and keep its image before them? Had CPI(M) been serious about their protest, they would have initiated mass movement against this Bill long ago. But they have kept silent all this time and protested only a few days before the Bill was withdrawn. To pose itself as a "fighter for people's cause and peoples' movement", the CPI(M) takes this popular gesture. Would it not therefore be well for them to remember the saying that one may fool some people for all time and all people for some time but not all people for all time!

On the question of law and order, too, the CPI(M) betrays the same attitude as other bourgeois parties. In a class divided society law and order serves the interest of a particular class. CPI(M) in the name of maintaining industrial peace is discouraging legitimate democratic movements; suppressing workers'

movements on legitimate demands and even use police force to suppress such movements by raising a hue and cry about law and order. Whereas the attitude towards law and order of a revolutionary party if it comes to power is to encourage democratic movements and legitimate demands of the people and to keep them free from police interference.

From all this, it is not difficult to understand that no matter whichever party is in the government, from Janata, Congress(I) to CPI(M), their whole concern is to defend the bourgeois law and order and suppress the legitimate democratic movement of the people. While Mr. Charan Singh is lauding the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government for its creditable performance in defence of this law and order, CPI(M) on its part is complimenting its 'friendly' Janata Party for restoring democratic rights and liberties. But people are daily testing their rights and liberties from the bullets and lathis. They are learning the bitter lesson that democracy in a capitalist state means the unfettered rights of the capitalist exploiters to exploit.

The only course left to the toiling people is to organise themselves in defence of their fundamental and democratic right in order to step up their movement to the ultimate struggle to earn emancipation from capitalist yoke.

Com. Pritish Chanda Protests

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Committee has denied even the minimum requirement for millions of poorest strata of our working class for a bare human existence. This recommendation, if given effect to, will push down further below poverty line those for whom it is meant. On the question of bonus it has simply dittoed the Governmental line and served the interest of the industrial

houses. The recommendation of pension instead of Bonus is something absurd and against aspiration of the working class.

On the question of wage revision, the recommendation for setting up separate Pay Committees is nothing but an evil design to shelve the irresistible immediate legitimate demand of wage increase in both private and public sector.

'We are firmly against

Armed Police Assault on Medical Students in Orissa

Mr. Jagjivan Ram and the State Governor stood silent spectator

Berhampur, April 20:

On 16th April, on the occasion of the visit of Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the defence minister, at the convocation of Banivihar University the students of Berhampur Medical College, who came to submit a memorandum to the minister with some legitimate demands, were brutally lathicharged and assaulted leading to grievous injury to many students. The way the convocation was held with a force of 1500 police encircling the university campus made it hardly understandable—whether it was a convocation programme of the university students, or of the police.

The demands for which the medical students had been for long agitating and which they wanted to place before the minister for his consideration included adequate supply of water in the hospitals, installation of generator for operation theatre, increase of stipend for the post-graduate students and house-staffs, more fund for library and such other legitimate demands.

In order to obstruct the students from submitting their memorandum to Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the police and spies created panic. The collector, himself, through some of his pet student leaders of the Medical College, Khalikat College and Lingaraj College, threatened the students that if they tried to gather for submitting the memorandum police would be given 'shoot-at-sight' order. The Vice-chancellor of the university sought help from the town hooligans in the payroll of the Janata Party. Medical students were denied admission to the convocation programme. But in spite of all these terrorisation, the medical students

this recommendation and are sure that the working class will force the Government to reject the recommendation in toto.

in hundreds assembled in the university campus, raised slogans against the police deployment and repression by the government and showed black flag to the defence minister. The police, then, along with the Janata Party's hoodlums, assailed the students brutally. Few hundreds of students were arrested and the police continued to lathicharge the remaining hundreds, kept encircled by thousands of armed police.

However, the student who was declared best medical student of the year managed to submit the memorandum while accepting his gold medal from the minister. This single incident has created a history of its own; reminding the days of the British rule, of unflagging heroism of the students determined to their course. During this, the medical students who

were within the Hall, raised their indignant voice against the Janata Government. Police rushed inside the Hall to suppress them and the programme was withheld for some time.

Here it should be mentioned that the government imposed 144 Cr.p.c. in the campus of the Medical College and the police filed cases against the student leaders including Sudhansu Senapati, convener, Student's Action Committee, for violation of 144. Cr. p.c. But one thing is note worthy. While the Janata Government perpetrated most barbarous repression upon the medical students' movement, the CPI and the CPI(M) alongwith their student wings SFI and AISF kept completely silent and did not even raise a voice of protest against such atrocities.

PANCHAYATI RAJ

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of deposit money for nomination in the election should either be done away with or at least brought to a minimum.

The present system of discrimination introduced for the first time by the 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal between the recognised political parties and other categories of political parties in the matter of using a single symbol for all the three tiers—a right exclusively reserved by the recognised parties only must be abolished forthwith. In fact, the 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal has quite unduly deprived the unrecognised registered political parties from getting the right to select and use a single symbol from the list of free symbols for all the three tiers of Panchayat which tantamounts to unduly influencing the elections in favour of the recognised parties of the state.

The Panchayat elections, like any other elec-

tion, must be made free from the clutches and influence of the moneybags as well as from rigging. We are highly perturbed over the news that the ballot papers of the coming Panchayat elections are being widely printed in numbers of private printing presses of the districts which are normally deemed unfit even for printing of question papers. We are afraid if secrecy can at all be maintained in such cases. When the leaders of the 'Left Front' raised hue and cry over the question of duplicate ballot papers during the last parliamentary polls and apprehended largescale rigging—although in that case the ballot papers were printed in Government controlled B. G. Press—it is curious that they themselves have preferred to print ballot papers this time in such ordinary presses definitely not to guard against rigging. A rigged election is bound to make popular verdict a farce and Panchayati Raj a fiasco.

HISTORIC MAY DAY OBSERVED

DHANBAD

Dhanbad, 2nd May :

Under the auspices of the Dhanbad District Committee of our Party SUCI, 'May Day' was observed here in a most befitting manner.

A big mass meeting was held at Digwadih under the presidentship of Comrade Anil Sarkar, a member of the District Committee, SUCI and the Secretary of the Bihar Coal Miners' Union affiliated to UTUC (Lenin Sarani), on 1st May this year apart from the ideological campaign conducted through wall writings, posters and distribution of leaflets, sale of Party literature etc.

Workers and peasants came to the meeting in processions, well decorated with red banners and festoons, in a disciplined manner. People from all walks of life, students, youths, office staff and teachers attended the meeting in good numbers. The meeting place was beautifully decorated with red banners, festoons and with a big photograph of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat. Comrade Pritish Chanda, a member of the Central Committee of the SUCI and General Secretary of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) was the main speaker of the meeting.

In his long and illuminating speech Comrade Chanda threw light on the history of May Day and told that whereas in socialist countries workers observe the day as a Festival Day, for us, who are living under capitalist exploitation, this day demands of us to take pledge to intensify our struggles against all sorts of exploitation and social injustice towards complete emancipation on correct base political line, holding high the Red banner, as **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the Proletariat taught us.

Comrade Chanda showed with concrete data that during the past 31 years of Independence under Congress rule the poor have become poorer and the rich have become richer and a vast number of the middle class peasantry have been reduced to poor and landless peasants. With a view to safeguarding the interest of the crisis-ridden capitalist exploitative system from the wrath of the exploited masses and their growing movements against capitalism on the one hand and on the other to put the entire burden of this crisis of capitalism on the working class, Smt. Indira Gandhi, the custodian of capitalist class of our country imposed Emergency and stifled

the voice of the people and snatched away all the democratic rights and civil liberties and created a reign of terror by letting loose all sorts of oppressive measures.

The people of all walks of life wanted to raise their voice against it; they wished something be done but no movements could be organised because of absence of co-ordinated Left movement which the Left parties of our country, mainly the so-called communists, failed to provide to the people due to their most opportunist role in those days. The capitalist class, taking note of the surging discontent of the people against Smt. Gandhi and her party, rejected her and her party and brought the Janata Party to power as the new defender and protector of capitalist interest. In some states the Akalis, AIDMK and CPI (M) replaced the Congress and formed Governments. But this change could not give any relief to the common people; on the contrary their miseries and sufferings aggravated.

The manner in which the Janata Government has been suppressing the just and legitimate democratic movements of the people with lathis and bullets since it came to power, particularly during the last two months, will, perhaps, be rarely found in the history

RAJASTHAN

Pilani, May 3 :

At a joint May Day rally held at Pilani in Rajasthan, workers and other sections of the toiling people pledged their solidarity with the cause of the working class revolution. This small town saw, perhaps for the first time, Red flags fluttering high and heard slogans

of our country. The so-called 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal has maligned the prestige of the Red Flag by ruthlessly suppressing the legitimate and democratic movements of the workers, peasants, students and common people with the help of police in the same very bureaucratic manners as those of the most hated Congress Government.

Exposing the nefarious design of the Janata Government, he said that the Janata Government, being unable to solve any of the problems of the people, which are the creations of the exploitative capitalist system of which they are the protectors, is intensifying caste-hatred and caste-fanaticism with a view to creating enmity between different castes and divert the attention of the toiling people from the problems. He demanded that all the able-bodied persons of the country must be provided with suitable employment or be paid unemployment allowance. Till all are not absorbed, preference should be given to the most needy persons.

At the end, he appealed to all to strengthen SUCI, the only genuine communist party in India which can alone lead the toiling masses in their fight against capitalism for emancipation from exploitation of all sorts.

Com. K.P. Singh, a leader of the Railway Front, narrated the history of the struggle of the Railwaymen and appealed to the people to unite and march forward taking lessons from the May Day.

raised by young and old trade union workers. There was a perceptible enthusiasm among the inhabitants of the township. The slogans of the workers' solidarity reverberated in the streets of the campus of the Birla Institute of Technology stirring up its students drawn from all corners of the country. A vain attempt was made to stop the procession of workers and other sections of the toiling people outside the premises of the Institute to shut off the winds of mass movements from reaching the students. The attempt failed and the rally generated enthusiasm among the student residents.

In the evening a public meeting was held to conclude the celebrations. On a proposal by Comrade Satyen Bansal, Comrade Sharda, a leading trade union worker, presided over the meeting. Comrade Gian Singh Choudhury, Secretary of the Haryana State Organising Committee of our Party and Vice-President, All India Committee of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani), addressed the gathering explaining the historic significance of May Day. He called upon the working class to learn from the teachings of the great leader of the proletariat, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and strengthen the ceaseless struggle to overthrow the exploitative capitalist system in our country. Comrade Singh urged the workers to maintain a revolutionary vigilance against the collaborators of the bourgeois rule who worked in their ranks. It was time, he emphasised to expose the social democratic character of the sham Marxists in our country, who are waving the Red banner to oppose the Red banner. He urged the workers to be true to their revolutionary class character by shedding fear and petty considerations. The colla-

borators of the bourgeois rule are trying to spread surreptitiously a fear psychosis along with other confusions among the workers. He explained that it was the capitalist system which was the root cause of all miseries and humiliation in the people's life—the workers, peasants, employees and shopkeepers etc. are all victims of this exploitative system. Hence, there is common ground for building up unity of all these sections of the toiling people for overthrowing the capitalist system to win the cherished emancipation.

Comrade Singh reminded the audience the great teaching of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** that the movement for rise in emoluments was not the struggle for seizure of power. The struggle for seizure of political power in order to overthrow the ruling capitalist class is the genuine revolutionary struggle. It should always be borne in mind that economic consciousness and the revolutionary consciousness are not one and the same—they are qualitatively different. Even militant trade union movement does not necessarily mean revolutionary movement. The working class should realise that their trade union movements assume true significance only when they utilise the rights earned through the day-to-day democratic mass movements to build up revolutionary organisation with decisive power by which they will be able one day to overthrow this exploitative capitalist system and establish in its place the working class State to free the mankind from exploitation of all sorts. Comrade Singh urged the toiling people to fulfil the behest of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat.

The audience, which represented all sections of the population of the town, sat through with rapt attention and evinced great interest and enthusiasm.

The conspiracy of the Bourgeoisie to confine Trade Union Movement

Within legalism is palpable in the Industrial Relation Bill

(Contd. from Page 1)
placed to the parliament to give the final shape of an enactment. Speaking at the consultative committee attached to his ministry, on 16th May, the Union Labour Minister, Mr. Ravindra Varma was assuring the members of the committee that there was no divergence of views in the government so far as the proposed Industrial Relations Bill was concerned. He was telling this to inform the members that the so-called 'progressives'—the erstwhile 'Socialists' within the Janata Cabinet were at one with the provisions of the Bill.

The Union Labour Minister was telling his audience that the new proposed Bill would provide a framework which "would promote cordiality and protect legitimate interests of both workers and industry". It is also reported in the newspaper (Economic Times 17. 5. 78.) that a number of members raised questions on the problems in jute industry in West Bengal and also the hospital services run by the ESI. As if these were the most important points so far as the proposed Industrial Relations Bill was concerned about which the Minister was seeking their support! Did not the members know what dangerous provisions were in the proposed Bill? Is it not a fact that for the first time in the trade union movement of our country, executive interference is being sought to be introduced in the internal affairs of the trade union bodies and through this device the very fundamental right of the workers to organise a strike is being tried to be controlled by the government? Let us see what the Bill is bringing to meet the "legitimate interests" both of the workers and the employers in this class-divided capitalist society.

Some of the provisions have come out in the press. From what has come (Economic Times 6. 5. 78.)

it is now known that:
1) A strike **will be legal only if 60 percent or more of employees in an undertaking or industry** (whether they are members of the union or not) **vote for it in a secret ballot.** The strike ballot shall be organised by the negotiating agent (means the leading union) but the **registrar of trade unions** will have the **general power of supervision and superintendence** and of **settling any dispute regarding the strike ballot.**

2) If a strike ballot endorses the call of a union for strike a **14-day notice will have to be given by the union.** Similar provision of notice is there for the management before it can declare a lock-out.

Two fundamental points are involved here. First, the provision for compulsorily holding a strike ballot before any 'legal' strike where not only the members of the struggling union but even the non-members, that is to say, the members of the management-backed unions as also employees not members of any union will vote to decide whether a 'strike' shall be organised or not. Over and above this most outrageous provision, further condition is laid down that 60% of the total employees shall approve of this decision. Not only this, the ballot will be undertaken under the supervision of a government officer e.g. the Registrar of Trade Unions whose decision in the matter of any dispute regarding the ballot shall be final. Will this not make any strike decision difficult and even impossible in the present circumstances, in many firms and establishments? Is this not the backdoor means to put a stop to strike? Already there is restriction on the right to strike and restoration of democracy means that workers' should have unfettered right to any form of democratic movement including strike. So, besides being violative of

the very spirit of fundamental rights and autonomy of trade union bodies, this is nothing other than an ingenious device to incorporate the very purpose of the Emergency declared by Indira Gandhi Government.

Secondly, putting the workers' fundamental right to strike at par with the punitive measure of lock-out at the hands of the capitalists is an old bourgeois device to befool the people. But this should no longer be able to hide the fact that in a bourgeois society like ours as the exploited class and the weaker side, the workers are to resort to strike just in self defence—in defence of their livings and vital rights whereas the punitive means of lock-out at the hands of the employer class is just to deprive the workers of their legitimate rights and liberties. The two cannot be one and the same nor can there be "legitimacy" at the same time both to exploitation of the capitalists and the workers' right to stand against it. This shows the anti-working class pro-capitalist basic attitude and angularity of a party chosen by the bourgeoisie as the alternative to an old bourgeois party—Congress which was long at the centre and has been replaced by the new one.

(3) There is also provision that—any office bearer of a trade union who incites the employees to go on an 'illegal' strike as established by a tribunal (meaning violating the provision mentioned) will be debarred from holding office in that trade union for a period not exceeding two years.

The purport of this provision is crystal clear needing no further elucidation. It may be noted in passing that just as Indira Gandhi government created a so-called apex body consisting of three central trade unions (INTUC-AITUC-HMS) who were all toeing the anti-people

policies of the government and because of that earned so-called 'respectability' in the eye of the government so also only those trade union leaders or for that matter those trade unions will earn the respectability of being negotiating agents from this government who will be willing to abide by this kind of 'law'. These 'respectable' trade unions and their leaders will work hand in glove with the governments in imposing 'peace' and 'discipline' in industries by confining the trade union movement within the four walls of legalism and conciliations. This is the aim toward which the bourgeoisie wants the trade unions to move.

(4) Repealing the earlier provision of the Indian Trade Union Act of 1926, the present bill seeks to restrict registration of trade unions. It provides for 10% of the total employees and a minimum of ten employees as the basic requirement for a union to be registered. This is said to be in the interest of eliminating multiplicity of trade unions in any establishment, when multiplicity of trade unions like multiplicity of political parties is the reality. But just as in the political field the bourgeoisie is after installing two-party system likewise it wants to rope in the workers within the effective control and influence of such trade union leadership who are their trusted agents in the trade union movement.

(5) The proposed Bill for the first time ventures to define in a labour legislation 'gherao' and 'go-slow' as unfair labour practices and therefore punishable offence about which the details may be worked out in the rules of the tribunals to be set up as per the provisions of the Bill. For this 'piece of wisdom', the Janata Government at the centre owes its debt and gratitude to Messrs Jyoti Basu and

Promode Dasgupta of CPI (M). For since they started their election campaigning for the West Bengal Assembly election, they in particular have been unfailingly assuring the monopolists and the different chambers of commerce and industries of their opposition to 'gherao' which has emerged as a particular form of struggle at the hands of the workers and employees. After their assumption of power in West Bengal, the bourgeois newspapers like the Statesman were all praise for them for taming and tuning their 'formidable' trade union wing CITU to work not only for 'peace' and 'discipline' in industry but also to see and watch those elements who are out to disturb production! Emboldened by this it was the different chambers of commerce who mooted the proposal for a compulsory 14-day notice of strike which the government at the centre in a competitive spirit of service to the ruling class has most gracefully accepted and incorporated in the Bill.

It is therefore clear that not only the branded bourgeois parties like both wings of the Congress and Janata but even the self-styled 'Marxists' like CPI (M), CPI are in mutual competition as to how best to serve the bourgeoisie in the midst of unprecedented crisis at the cost of vital rights and earnings of the working people. They are resorting to double talks and all kinds of manoeuvres to deceive the working people and cover up their crime. The reality today is that SUCI and the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) alone stand for the unfettered rights and liberties of the working people, their fundamental right to strike, their inalienable right to organise militant legitimate democratic movement as a precursor to the struggle to overthrow the exploitative capitalist system while others have their allegiance to the capitalist class, its wishes and desires.

Country responds to the call of 24th April

[The thirtieth anniversary of our party, the SUCI has been observed in different states and the reports of the same were published in the previous issue of the Proletarian Era. In this issue the meeting held at New Delhi and different parts of Kerala to observe the auspicious occasion is being briefly reported.]

DELHI

The meeting was held at Constitution club, New Delhi, Com. Omprakash Suman, member of the Delhi organising committee, presided over the meeting and Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta Secretary, West Bengal State Committee of SUCI was the main speaker. The other speaker was Comrade Gyan Singh Chowdhury, Secretary Haryana State Organising Committee of our Party.

In his speech Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta said that despite political changes that took place last year through parliamentary and assembly elections the basic problems in the life of the people showed no sign of improvement, rather these problems were getting further accentuated. He said that so long as the capitalist state machine with its three organs viz. the military, the bureaucratic apparatus along with police administration and Judiciary exists, so long as the motive force of production remains to earn maximum profit in a system governed by owner-wage-earner relationship it is futile to expect any tangible change.

Comrade Dasgupta then dealt with the acute crisis of the world capitalist system and showed that India being a capitalist country and as a part and parcel of the world capitalist system cannot keep itself free from this crisis and moreover being relatively under-developed country it suffers from some problems which are typical of its own. So it is preposterous to argue that this problem can be tackled if the industrialists can shake off their shyness

and extend their hand of cooperation. Sm. Gandhi so long spoke about dearth of capital and Mr. Jyoti Basu, Chief Minister of the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal is clamouring about the shyness of the industrialists to invest. They in fact, conceal the truth from the people that it is capitalism which is the main enemy of the people and stands as the greatest obstruction in the path of social development.

Explaining the character of Indian capitalism Comrade Dasgupta showed that Indian bourgeoisie have given birth to not only monopoly capitalism but also finance capital and financial oligarchy through the coalescence of industrial capital with banking capital and are also exporting capital in different countries and this feature must be admitted, according to Leninism, as nothing but symptomatic of imperialist character. Similarly as a sequel to law of monopoly capitalism there is concentration of economic and political power leading to some sort of administrative fascism in the country.

Comrade Dasgupta said that Indian economy is out and out capitalistic and in agriculture the entire economy has become capitalist with land becoming a means of capitalist production. Recalling the teaching of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great departed leader of the proletariat, Comrade Dasgupta said that feudalism today remains in the realm of thought, culture habits etc. i.e. in the super-structure as the hangover of the past.

Comrade Dasgupta, then recalled the teachings of **Comrade Ghosh**, the great leader, teacher and guide of the proletariat regarding the present universal feature of fascism in capitalist countries all over the world including countries like India, not only through the rejection of parliament but also by maintaining facade of parliamentary democracy

UTUC (Lenin Sarani) Demands of the 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal to fulfil its promise of reopening closed factories and taking over of sick Industries

An unprecedented power crisis with crippling effects on the life of the citizens, industry and agriculture has gripped the state of West Bengal run by the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government, the entire burden of which is being thrust on the working people. The worst hit have been the workers engaged in small and medium scale units like hosiery, press, readymade garments as also different branches of Engineering, Jute and Textile industries. Many of them employed on 'pice-rate' or quota basis are suffering wage cuts, retrenchments, lay-offs etc. Strangely though, despite loud claim of the government about its sympathy for the workers, it is just silent spectator to the plight of the workers. It has no other business than placating the different chambers of commerce and conceding to their terms.

Drawing the attention of the State Labour Minister, to the pitiable condition of the workers, Comrade Fatick Ghosh, General Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and also a member of the West Bengal State Labour Advisory Board has in his letter of 15th May, requested for immediate convening of the meeting of the Board to take stock of the serious situation and devise ways and means for the protection of the workers from the miseries thrust upon them for no

fault of their own.

In his 'Note' submitted to the first meeting of the Reconstituted State Committee on Employment, West Bengal, held on 19th May, Comrade Fatick Ghosh, as member of the Board, has demanded of the government to spell out in clear terms that it is not disowning the responsibility and particularly the promise it held out in its 36-point programme in the Election Manifesto regarding reopening and taking over of closed and sick industries which are ever on the increase

throwing lakhs of workers out of employment.

Comrade Fatick Ghosh has said in his 'Note': *"Without these concrete steps and measures for re-opening of closed and sick units any talk of employment policy will sound as a cruel joke on the working people. In fact, any employment policy worth the name should start from that end"*

Comrade Ghosh also pointed out in his 'Note' that positive steps in this regard have assumed all the more urgency in view of the phenomenal increase in the number of applicant in the live registers of the Exchanges, the increase being as high as over 2 lakhs within a year where as the figure of placement to jobs through Exchanges came down to paltry 18 thousands. He also demanded full control on employment in firms and establishments both in private and public sector and strict adherence to fair and rational principle.

and even under the garb of two party system. Comrade Dasgupta showed that the emergence of the Janata Party was nothing but initiation of this dangerous device of the two-party parliamentary system in this country because of the absence of a genuine left and democratic unity for which the SUCI strove hard during all these years.

Comrade Dasgupta then dealt on the performance of the 'Left Front' Government and showed that the role of the CPI(M) is very dangerous particularly because of the fact that it can confuse the people more because of Left jargon and Marxist vocabularies and this is the greatest danger posed before mass movement.

Comrade Dasgupta said that in such a situation there is no other party

excepting SUCI which can hold aloft the banner of leftism and revolutionary mass movement. It is the party founded by and enriched with the invaluable analysis of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. Comrade Dasgupta concluded that the observance of the anniversary of the foundation day will be meaningful if we can grasp well the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and organise people's movement laying the foundation of political power of the people.

Comrade Gyan Singh, in his brief speech analysed the role of the CPI and the CPI(M) and said that these parties are moving to fulfil their parliamentary game and arrest the mass movements within the four walls of parliamentary politics.

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It is however interesting to note that when the workers are faced with such a grim reality, the leaderships of CITU and its associates are not only keeping scrupulous silence but are objectively putting obstacles to developing a united mighty movement of the working people against the oppressions and exploitations of the capitalists. Thus, both from the government as also from trade union front, CPI(M) and its allies are offering all help to the crisis ridden bourgeoisie to continue in its grinding exploitation over the working people without any let or hindrance by trying to ensure perfect 'peace' and 'discipline' in industrial field.

24th APRIL OBSERVED

KERALA

Quilon, May 20 :

The 30th Anniversary of our party was observed amidst great enthusiasm with numerous meetings, group sittings, literary campaign, posterings, fund collection etc. culminating in three big mass meetings in Quilon, Calicut and Trivandrum. The notable feature, this time, was the irresistible attraction of the people to our party that alone holds aloft the banner of revolutionary Marxism in our soil, despite calumnies and even coercive tactics of CPI(M) and other bourgeois parties. In all these meetings, particularly at the central meeting held in Trivandrum, people mustered strong in large number defying very many odds and particularly the inclement weather. This meeting was tried to be disturbed by CPI(M) by holding a parallel meeting with their Polit Bureau member and veteran leader, B. T. Ranadive.

But this tactics failed miserably in as much as the gathering at our meeting was larger, four or five times. CPI(M)'s discomfiture was obvious. The people of Trivandrum saw through the game and had nothing but words of condemnation for this political behaviour.

Fact is that the attraction of the people towards SUCI is nothing but their attraction for the revolutionary teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great teacher of the proletariat, and this is a reality which is becoming more and more evident. Social democracy takes note of this not with joy but with mortal fear—Kerala is no exception.

In all these meetings, **Comrade Krishna Chakravarty**, a distinguished leader and organiser of our party was the main speaker. **Comrade Chakravarty** dealt at length the various aspects of the political developments in our country especially since the last

parliamentary pole. He warned the people against serious danger to militant democratic mass movements and revolutionary consciousness of the oppressed people in the concrete background of bourgeois conspiracy to install two-party system and the active help and support being offered to this by CPI(M), CPI and other pseudo-left parties and forces. CPI(M) is trying to emerge as the third force in bourgeois parliamentary politics by the service they are offering from both their position in Government as in West Bengal and Tripura as also from outside. He appealed to the people to grasp the revolutionary teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** the great teacher of the proletariat as only these teachings can lead them to their path of emancipation.

Besides **Comrade Chakravarty**, **Comrades James Joseph, C. K. Lukose** also spoke. Revolutionary homage was paid to the memory of **Comrade V. Natarajan** at the meetings.

JOINT MEETING OF CENTRAL TRADE UNION ORGANISATIONS

Calcutta, May 28 :

Comrade Pritish Chanda, General Secretary, All India Committee of UTUC (Lenin Sarani) in a statement has urged upon two and a half lakh steel workers of India to remain alert so that Steel Ministry and the Steel Authority do not back-out from their commitment and decision of the national level body arrived at 12th April, 1978 regarding formation of appropriate new machinery for negotiation and holding of secret ballot for determining collective bargaining agency.

The steel workers should prepare for and launch united struggles in all plants to achieve their urgent demand for wage revision and other pressing demands.

In this connection a meeting of the representatives of Central Trade Unions having their unions in steel industry was held

on 25th May '78 at the central office of CITU at Calcutta. The representatives of AITUC, CITU, UTUC (Lenin Sarani) and BMS were present. Meeting discussed and decided the following.

"The Indian steel workers are seriously concerned at the attitude of the Steel Ministry of the Government of India in deliberately delaying settlement of steel workers' demands and shelving the decision taken in New Delhi on 30th November, 1977 on determination of collective bargaining agent in steel industry through secret ballot of workers. It was obvious from the meeting called by the Steel Minister on 5th May in New Delhi that the Steel Ministry was going back on its decision and commitments of the meeting of 12th April, 1978. The steel workers cannot take it lightly.

The steel workers have already waited too long and they cannot wait indefinitely for settlement of their pressing economic demands.

We strongly condemn this attitude of the Steel Ministry and demand reorganisation of NJCC and immediate commencement of wage negotiation at industry level for steel workers and implementation of the decision on determining the collective bargaining agent through secret ballot of steel workers along with the recommendations of the Study Groups on Steel Industry.

We call upon the Steel workers of India to immediately launch a massive agitation against the attitude of the Steel Ministry and build up strong and united movement for realisation of their demands.

We call upon the steel workers of India to express their strong resentment

Boothalingam Committee's Recommendations

—A Calculated Attack on the Working People

Along with the Janata Government's proposed Industrial Relations Bill which seeks to restrict very much trade union movement the Boothalingam Committee's recommendations, as was apprehended, aim to peg down wages and salaries. All these attacks are in tune with the desire of the crisis-ridden bourgeoisie.

Leaving aside all the vague talks and pious wishes which are meant to cover up the real intentions the palpable dangerous items of the recommendations are the following so far as the press reports go :

(1) It recommends abolition of bonus and bringing instead pension provision as if they are mutually exclusive. The real intention is to deny the right of bonus being treated as deferred wages which the working people earned after long and bitter struggle and it is a right which the Supreme Court and different labour tribunals had to accept.

(2) The second serious attack is against the existing DA formula. It is known to everybody that in the midst of high rate of inflation, the DA formula inspite of so many defects and shortcomings was even to some extent, compensating the steady erosion in real wages. The present move is even to deprive the workers of this modest benefit by delinking it from salary against the recommendations of Bhoothalingam Committee and demand that this report be scrapped in totality.

We also call upon the steel workers of India to observe a DEMAND DAY on 13th June, 1978 and token protest STRIKE on 28 June, 1978 in all steel plants concurrently with the action going to be taken by the workers of Public Sector Undertakings all over India"

and improvising a so-called scheme of standardised "value per index point" for all—that is to say while at present, employees are getting variable DA on the basis of percentage increase on payscale, the committee recommends only increase of Rs 1.30 on every one point increase in Index.

(3) The national minimum wage of rupees four per day and rupees hundred per month for the present are simply preposterous in as much as even the agricultural labourers have been conceded, at least on paper, rupees eight to ten as minimum wages in different states. With this minimum wages, it is now evident that the government not only wants most of the working force below the poverty line but use it to depress the wage and pay scales even in the organised sector.

(4) The different committees suggested by the commission bringing representatives from TU's is nothing but a shrewd device to bribe and rope in the trade unions in favour of this dangerous line of the government.

The employees of the railways, post and telegraph and other departmental undertaking have been denied the right to have bonus, although two former leaders of their historic strike in 1974 are now in the cabinet and with whose consent this denial of their just demand now comes.

We hope that the working people of the country will come forward in defence of their hard earned rights and benefits and the central trade unions will also show their united face against the move at least on such serious issue and in such a grave situation when the very fundamental rights and living standard of the working people faces serious challenge. They should bear no illusion about the Janata Party however much its Marxist friends may eulogise it as a major force in the struggle for restoration of democratic rights and liberties of the people.

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